

## Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY PANAMA IMMEDIATE

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LIMDIS FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY ROGERS

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CARACAS KINGSTON PORT OF SPAIN 29 JAN.

QUOTE

S E C R E T

LIMDIS

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY ROGERS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, GY

SUBJECT: GUYANESE PERCEPTIONS OF THE U.S.

REF: STATE 010605

1. SUMMARY: GUYANESE GET DISTORTED PICTURE OF US SCENE FROM  
MEDIA CONTROLLED BY PNC GOVT, WHICH DEPICT US AS CORRUPT EVIL  
DECAYING GIANT; PM BURNHAM AND OTHER LEADERS ARE VICTIMS OF  
PARANOIA ABOUT US INTENTIONS AND ABILITY TO QUOTE DESTABILIE  
UNQUOTE GUYANA. LONG-TERM STRATEGY CALLS FOR SOCIALIST THRUST AT  
HOME AND COLLECTIVE CONFRONTATION WITH CAPITALIST DC'S ABROAD.

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THERE IS SUBSTANTIAL UNDERSTANDING OF OUR POLICITICAL SYSTEM AND  
PROCESSES THOUGH SOME SUBTLETIES ARE LOST. E.G. IN EXECUTIVE-  
CONGRESS RELATIONSHIP. ON ANGOLA, GUYANESE LEADERS SEE SOUTH  
AFRICAN INTERVENTION AS QUOTE GUT UNQUOTE ISSUE, AND CUBAN INVOLVE-  
MENT AS SYMBOLIC OF A POTENTIAL CUBAN GUARANTOR ROLE AGAINST

BRAZILIAN AND/OR VENEZUELAN AGGRESSION. WE FORESEE ONLY LIMITED AND GRADUAL CARRYOVER IN BILATERAL TRADE FIELD OF GUYANA'S IDEOLOGICAL OPPOSITION AND LEADERSHIP ROLE IN THIRD WORLD PRESSURE FOR INDEXATION OR OTHER FORMS OF COMMODITY PRICE IT UP-ULATION. END SUMMARY.

2. ONE NEED NOT BELABOR THE UNIQUE CHARACTER OF GUYANA EVEN WITHIN THE GREAT DIVERSITY ENCOMPASSED IN LATIN AMERICAN REGION. WE WELCOME, HOWEVER, THE CHANCE TO EXPOSTULATE ON WHAT MAKES GUYANA UNIQUE BOTH IN THE NATURE OF ITS SYSTEM AND GOALS AND IN HOW IT PERCEIVES OUR COUNTRY. FOLLOWING PARAGRAPHS ARE KEYED TO THE QUESTIONS SET FORTH IN YOUR TELEGRAM AND GENERALLY REPRESENT CONSENSUS OF COUNTRY TEAM.

A.) CONTROL OF MEDIA BY SOCIALIST GOVT AND MARXIST OPPOSITION HAS MEANT VIRTUAL SILENCE ON STRENGTHS REVEALED IN MEETING RECENT CHALLENGES TO US POLITICAL SYSTEM, WHICH ARE APPRECIATED ONLY BY FEW REMAINING EDUCATED BOURGEOIS. RULINGPNC ANDOPPOSITION PPP DEPICT AMERICAN CRISES AS INEVITABLE RESULT OF POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL INEQUITIES INHERENT IN CAPITALIST IMPERIALISM OF WHICH US IS PRIMEEXAMPLE.

WATERGATE AND OTHER MANIFESTATIONS OF VIGOROUS MEDIA PURSUIT OF FACTS ARE VIEWED AS PRODUCT OF FREE BUT UNDISCIPLINED SOCIETY. ANTIDOTES PRESCRIBED BY GOG ARE MEDIA CONTROL AND COMPULSORY NATIONAL SERVICE. IN GENERAL, PUBLIC IS CONSTANTLY REMINDED THAT US IS BASICALLY A CORRUPT EVIL GIANT, VICTIMOF ITS OWN ECONOMIC SYSTEM, AND CAPABLE OF UNBRIDLED INTERFERENCE AND VIOLENCE ON WORLD STAGE IN EFFORT TOWARD OFF ULTIMATE DEFEAT AT HANDS OF SOCIALISM.

B.) THOUGH ELATED OVER VIETNAM OUTCOME, GOG BELIEVES INHERENTLY AGGRESSIVE NATURE OF CAPITALISM SIGNIFIES THAT US WITHDRAWAL FROM VIETNAM IS MERELY TRANSITORY STAGE IN CONTINUED PURSUIT OF IMPERIALIST HEGEMONY. PRECISELY BECAUSE THEY OWE PRESENT POWER IN PART TO US SUPPORT, BURNHAM ANDPNC STILL HAVE A NOT ALWAYS LATENT DISTRUST OF US INTENTIONS AND EXAGGERATED BELIEF IN US ABILITY  
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TO QUOTE DESTABILIZE UNQUOTE THEIR COUNTRY. THIS PARANOIA AND FEAR OF OUR STRENGTH IS A MAJOR FORCE IN MOVING GUYANA TOWARD CLOSER RELATIONS WITH COMMUNIST POWERS.

C.) SHARP DIFFERENCES BETWEEN US ADMINISTRATION AND CONGRESS ON FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES AND MEANS FOR ACHIEVING SAME TEND TO BE REGARDED BY GOG AS TEMPORARY FACTORS ARISING FROM WATERGATE AFTERMATH PLUS ELECTION CAMPAIGN. GOG REACHED ITS BASIC DETERMINATION TO ABANDON ANY GUISE OF POLITICAL COOPERATION WITH US WITHOUT REGARD TODOMESTIC FOREIGN POLICY DEBATE IN U.S. GUYANA DEPENDS ON US ONLY AS NORMALLY PROFITABLE MARKET FOR RAW MATERIALS EXPORTS, AND AS PREFERRED BUT NOT EXCLUSIVE SOURCE OF KEY IMPORTS SUCH AS HEAVY CONSTRUCTION EQUIPMENT. USAID PROGRAM, WHILE SIGNIFICANT IN PAST, HAS DECLINED TO LEVEL WELL BELOW THAT WHICH

COULD HAVE ANY POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE.

D.) DIRECT EXPOSURE TO LIFE IN THE US PLUS WEALTH OF OTHER CONTACTS HAS PRODUCED SUBSTANTIAL UNDERSTANDING OF US POLITICAL PROCESS ON PART OF GOG. SOME GOG OFFICIALS, WHO AT ONE TIME HARBORED A KIND OF CHILDISH FAITH IN OUR POLITICAL SYSTEM, ARE BEWILDERED THAT IT HAS SPAWNED SUCH A SPECTRUM OF UGLY PROBLEMS. MORE PREVALENT, HOWEVER, IS CONFUSION OVER FACT THAT WE LET OUR PROBLEMS HANG OUT SO PLAINLY IN PUBLIC VIEW. SOME SUBTLETIES OF RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CONGRESS AND EXECUTIVE ARE LOST EVEN ON KNOWLEDGEABLE GUYANESE BECAUSE OF THEIR LEGACY OF PARLIAMENTARY GOVT FROM UK. THERE ARE INDEED DOUBTS APPROACHING CYNICISM WITHIN GOG AS TO SINCERITY OF EXECUTIVE BRANCH IN PURSUING FOREIGN POLICY MEASURES AFFECTING THIRD WORLD, NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT, AND BLACK LIBERATION EFFORTS IN SOUTH AFRICA THROUGH US CONGRESS. SAME APPLIES TO LESSER DEGREE ON LATIN AMERICAN POLICY INITIATIVES.

3.) WATERSHED IN SWITCH FROM TRADITIONAL FRIENDSHIP AND DEPENDENCE ON US OCCURRED IN 1969-71. OFFICIAL GUYANA RHETORIC TODAY HOLDS US AS QUOTE ENEMY UNQUOTE. INITIALLY AT LEAST, PNC LEADERSHIP WAS AFFECTED BY DISAPPOINTMENT OVER GRADUAL REDUCTION IN US ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE, ABSENCE OF ALL-OUT USG SUPPORT DURING FLARE UP OF ESSEQUIBO TERRITORIAL DISPUTE WITH VENEZUELA, NEED TO COUNTER CHARGES OF SELLOUT TO US INFLUENCE EMANATING FROM RADICAL MARXIST OPPOSITION, AND PERCEPTION OF GROWING STRENGTH OF THIRD WORLD

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MOVEMENT. IMPACT HAS BEEN FELT IN EVERY FACET OF BILATERAL RELATIONS TO EXTENT THAT GUYANA NOW GIVES APPEARANCE OF SEEKING CONFRONTATION RATHER THAN CONCILIATION.

F.) OUR REACTION TO CUBAN INVOLVEMENT IN ANGOLA IS REGARDED BY THE GOG AS COVERT SUPPORT FOR SOUTH AFRICA. DEEP EMOTIONAL OPPOSITION TO APARTHEID AMONG AFRO-GUYANESE LEADERS MAKES THIS A QUOTE GUT UNQUOTE ISSUE IN GOG FOREIGN POLICY. IN THEIR EYES, CUBA'S ROLE IN ANGOLA IS PREPARING WAY FOR FINAL ASSAULT ON SOUTH AFRICA ITSELF. MOREOVER, BURNHAM AND COMPANY VIEW CUBA (WITH BACKING OF USSR) AS POTENTIAL ULTIMATE GUARANTOR OF GUYANA'S TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND ITS MARCH TOWARD COMMUNIST SOCIETY. BOTH BRAZIL AND VENEZUELA ARE REGARDED AS POTENTIAL ENEMIES UNDER US INFLUENCE AND PRODDING. WE BELIEVE THAT GUYANA WOULD BE LIKELY TO CALL FOR CUBAN MILITARY SUPPORT IF BURNHAM AND COMPANY THOUGHT EITHER OF ITS NEIGHBORS WERE TEMPTED TO MAKE A MILITARY MOVE AGAINST GUYANA.

G.) GOG LEADERS SEE NO ALTERNATIVE TO DEALING

COLLECTIVELY WITH US AND DEVELOPED WORLD. THEY ARE CONVINCED THAT ONLY BY SHOWING UNCOMPROMISING LOYALTY TO RADICAL THIRD WORLD CONSENSUS CAN THEY OVERCOME GUYANA'S SMALL SIZE AND ECONOMIC WEAKNESS, AND FORGE CREDENTIALS AS LEADER OF SOCIALIST THIRD WORLD. THEY HAVE ALMOST NO FAITH IN POSSIBILITY OF ACHIEVING DEVELOPMENT OBJECTIVES THROUGH COLLABORATION WITH DEVELOPED COUNTRIES. NOR DO THEY REGARD CAPITALISM AS CAPABLE OF SURVIVING MUCH BEYOND END OF CENTURY, EVEN IN COUNTRIES MOST ADVANCED TECHNOLOGICALLY. ACCORDINGLY, LONG-TERM STRATEGY CALLS FOR PURSUIT OF DISCIPLINED SOCIALIST SOCIETY AT HOME AND COLLECTIVE CONFRONTATION WITH CAPITALIST DC'S ABROAD. EXCEPT FOR CARICOM AND POSSIBLY SELA, GOG IS LARGELY INDIFFERENT TO OAS AND OTHER HEMISPHERIC ORGANIZATIONS.

H.) GOG LEADERS ARE CONVINCED THAT US AND OTHER CAPITALIST COUNTRIES ARE SLIDING SLOWLY DOWNHILL AND THEY  
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WELCOME THIS DECLINE FOR REASONS INDICATED SUPRA. AT LEAST SINCE 1971, GUYANA'S VOTING PATTERN IN UN AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL FORUMS HAS CONSISTENTLY BEEN OPPOSED TO US AND GOG IS DOUBTLESS ENCOURAGED TO CONTINUE IN THIS DIRECTION BY ITS PERCEPTION OF DECLINING US POWER WHICH EXTENUATES FEAR OF ANTAGONIZING A POWERFUL ENEMY.

I.) GUYANA'S TRADE WITH GDR, PRC, USSR, AND CUBA HAS INCREASED OVER PAST SEVERAL YEARS, BUT COMPARED TO TWO-WAY TRADE WITH US, THE COMBINED TOTAL OF GOG TRADE WITH THESE COUNTRIES IS WELL BELOW SERIOUS COMPETITION. IF GUYANA COULD EASILY SWITCH TO USSR OR GDR AS MAJOR EQUIPMENT AND FINISHED GOODS SUPPLIERS, IT WOULD NOT HESITATE TO DO SO. WE REGARD THIS AS NOT REPEAT NOT LIKELY, FOR BOTH TECHNOLOGICAL AND PRICE CONSIDERATIONS. STILL, IN REPLACING CAPITAL GOODS AND IN NEW INVESTMENT, GUYANA WILL MORE AND MORE USE NON-TRADITIONAL SUPPLIERS, INTERMINGLING IDEOLOGY AND NATIONAL TRADE DECISIONS IN A CONFLICTING MANNER. ON EXPORT SIDE, CALCINED BAUXITE IS ONLY PRODUCT WITH WHICH GUYANA COULD ADVERSELY AFFECT US INTEREST, BUT WE BELIEVE THIS IS EQUALLY UNLIKELY TO HAPPEN FOR PRAGMATIC REASONS. IN TERMS OF ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE, GOG FULLY REALIZES THAT SIGNIFICANT US BILATERAL CONTRIBUTION TO GUYANA'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IS A THING OF PAST. OTHER BILATERAL DONORS ARE NOT LACKING, INCLUDING PRC, UK AND CANADA, AND THERE ARE VARYING DEGREES OF COMMITMENT TO GIVE ASSISTANCE FROM CUBA, GDR, NORTH KOREA AND USSR. IFI'S WILL CONTINUE TO BE MAJOR SOURCE OF LOAN FUNDING. GOG WILL ATTEMPT TO KEEP DOOR OPEN TO US ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE, BUT WILL NEITHER CHANGE

ITS IDEOLOGICAL OPPOSITION NOR ADOPT IMPORTUNING  
POSTURE IN ORDER TO DO SO.

J.) ALONG WITH MANY OTHER THIRD WORLD NATIONS,  
GUYANA BELIEVES US LACKS WILLINGNESS TO DISTRIBUTE  
MORE EQUITABLY A WEALTH WHICH SHE BELIEVES DERIVES  
FROM EXPLOITATION OF RAW MATERIAL-PRODUCING COUNTRIES  
LIKE HERSELF. (PARADOXICALLY, IT IS OUR PHENOMENAL  
AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTIVE CAPACITY WHICH GUYANESE AT  
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ALL LEVELS MOST ADMIRE AND RESPECT.) GUYANA ESPOUSES  
THIRD WORLD RADICALS' PERCEPTION OF CAPITALIST SOCIETY  
AS INTRINSICALLY EXPLOITATIVE AND IMPERIALISTIC AND  
STRONGLY SUPPORTS PRODUCER ORGANIZATIONS. SHE SEES  
INDEXATION OR OTHER FORMS OF UNILATERAL PRICE MANIPULA-  
TION BY SUCH ORGANIZATIONS AS MOST EFFECTIVE MEANS OF  
OBTAINING QUOTE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC JUSTICE UNQUOTE.  
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